Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

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Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

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Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

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The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

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They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

1: Métraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Omaguaca SI9

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In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

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Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

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The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

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these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

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/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

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17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

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1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

1: Métraux--175 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Chile SG3

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17 It cannot be denied that there exist, between the civilization of Atacama and those of the provinces of north and northwest Argentina, of southern Bolivia, and of the coast of Chile, variants important enough to justify the subdivision of this culture zone into separate regions corresponding perhaps to the extent of tribes speaking different languages. But along with these local variations, how many similarities! How many analogies in technical materials and artistic forms! Farther on when I deal with fundamental elements of Chiriguano art from a comparative point of view, I shall have occasion to dwell on some of these resemblances and to give many an example.

The credit for bringing out the elements common to all these civilizations and seeking to explain them belongs to Uhle (1, 3, 4).

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172 /401/ Already in 1913, on the subject of tablets from Chiuchiu, this scholar (Uhle, 1, p. 457) declared "that there had not been only one Atacama civilization, but several belonging to different periods." Several years later, after some systematic excavations he made in Pisagua, Arica, and Tacna, he tackled the "Atacameño" problem as a whole and proposed a plausible solution for it. Since knowledge of the results acquired by Uhle is important for understanding what follows, I believe it necessary to give as complete a résumé of them as possible.

Near Tacna, Uhle (4, p. 2) collected remains of several superimposed cultures, which he classifies in the following manner:

1. Period of primordial man (objects of paleolithic type);

2. Period of the Arica aborigines (first centuries of our era). The remains of this period belong to a very primitive population of fishermen;

3. Period contemporary with the Chavin ruins, which goes from about the year 400 to 600 A.D.;

4. Tiahuanaco period and continuation of the epigonal style, from about the year 600 to the year 900;

5. Period of the indigenous civilization of Atacama, from the year 900 to about 1100;

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194 177 286 482 [439] Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 • 19 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion ccc the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

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Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they C [101] can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themCe 101 17 selves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of C 171 172 128 648 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

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Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

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1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

8: Schmidt--6 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
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and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

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In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

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3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

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C Ce 412 •17 Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matako, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Shells (Ínta) as Eating Utensils

Ce 237 415 I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

Ce 415 [824] As vessels for drinking water and chicha, they above all use cuyas /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the chicha festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in cuyas with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the cuyas that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The cuyas received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

C 415 126 531

Ce 415 [531] [824]

8: Schmidt--81 E-S (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
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Ring (mollkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 29 The cacique of the Izonó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izonóx pápá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 ● 19 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ca 145 Ca [114] C [114] In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izonó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

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148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

St Schmidt--185 E-5 (1931) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
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Weavings Made on a Special Loom, from the Collection

I.A. 727. Bag (Izosé). Wool. Hgt. 21 cm. Width 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I.A. 728. Band " " Length 1.3 cm. " 3.7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

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Because of the contacts that the Chiriguano and the Chané had for a long time with the culture of the ancient Peruvians, it is surprising that the highly developed technique of the latter should not have had more influence on the weaving technique of these Indians. The fact is that the Chiriguano even today make most of their weavings with the typical loom of the Araucо and with the warp in the form of a ring, which they doubtless received from the Chané. Besides these ordinary looms, the forms of looms that they received directly or indirectly from the technique of the ancient Peruvians are of little importance.

Ce 286 171

The two Izosé weavings mentioned above, and in particular bag I.A. 727, are weavings that are exactly like the weavings produced to this day by the Quichua /Quechua/ and also the typical weavings of the last period of the Inca Empire.

In order to explain the appearance of such weavings among the Chané of the Parapití, we have an interesting observation by Nordenskiöld. The Indians told that author that they had learned that technique of weaving directly from a Quichua woman who had emigrated into their territory (274).

Ce [171]

274. Nord. 2, p. 178.

C 286 [199]

The Chiriguano loom for weaving bands and shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld shows that the Chiriguano also learned to weave in the way of the ancient Peruvians (272) /fn. 272, which appears on p. 172,reads: Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4./. In contrast to the manner of weaving described in the preceding, these weavings are made in such a way that the thread of the woof passes alternately through the threads of the front side of the warp and those of the back side. In addition to this, a double mechanism for the divisions of the warp threads makes possible many more variations in the ornamentation.

R. Schmidt--214 E-6 (1908) 1909 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
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/81 cont./

clay vessels, in the form of incisings on the surface of cuyas and calabashes or flutes of wood or cane, in the form of pyrographic decorations on cuyas, and also, infrequently, in the form of tattooing on parts of the human body. The obvious difference between the drawings applied to the surfaces of baked clay vessels and those on cuyas and calabashes is surprising. This difference is explained by the fact that the decorations on the baked clay vessels are done exclusively by women and those on cuyas and calabashes by men.

The basic elements of the painting done on the surface of the baked clay vessels of these Indians consist of geometric designs which are completely different from those of the ancient Peruvians and untouched by modern European influences. No doubt these are the products of an old and indigenous art. But we do not know up to what point this originated among the Chiriguano and to what point among the Chané. Neither do we know whether the differences between the nature of the paintings of the Chiriguano in Macharetí and that of the paintings of the Izozó of the Parapití are only local differences or whether they are based on the difference between these two nations. But outside of that primordial decoration and mixed with it, there are foreign elements of decoration which we must reduce to ancient Peruvian models, and this is especially true of the drawings of plants on the surface of a Chiriguano vessel which Figures 64 and 165 show. One /82/ decoration, doubtless also phytomorphic, which appears repeatedly on the surface of the baked clay vessels, for example, on the vessels shown in Figures 67 and 71b, has a direct model in the form of a decoration that we know from the ancient Peruvian pottery of the last period of the Inca Empire (309). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repre-

309. See Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, p. 348, Fig. 1.

sentations are found relatively infrequently among the decorations on the baked clay vessels. The quadruped shown on the surface